

SOCIAL RELATIONS

225

enough, "Perhaps she wants something to eat or wear that I can⁵⁹³ not give her," and let her go to her lover. He made no attempt to⁸³⁷ harm either of them. But he would never have anything to do^[584] with her thereafter.

X left his first wife, who took her infant son with her when she married a Kokuana. The Kokuana could not have been more fond of the boy had he been⁵⁹³ his own son. For instance, when the lad was returning from a visit to the Mohave, he injured his foot badly. His companions who came ahead reported that he might die of thirst in the desert. The Kokuana step-father immediately rode out to fetch him. X would have nothing to do with his ex-wife. He always drove the lad away with a stick and extended this unkindness to his son's children. People now ask why those children care for X, now that he is old, since he treated them so badly, but they reply simply that he is their relative and needs their help.

Women fought to retain the affections of unfaithful husbands.⁵⁸⁶ If a man was repeatedly remiss, his wife would give him up to her rival. If she left him for this reason, he might try to persuade her⁽⁸³⁷⁾ to return but she would refuse. She went to her relatives to live, because her husband was bringing a new wife to his home. However, if they had children, the wife would stay with her children. If nevertheless she decided to marry again, she told no one, not⁵⁸⁷ even the children, whom she abandoned there. Such abandonment is confirmed by an incident related below.

Ordinarily a barren wife was divorced. It was a common saying⁵⁸⁶ that a home was incomplete without children. Occasionally the wife might be kept if she was good-natured and industrious, and an additional wife might be taken. Both sexes were known^[833] to be impotent: they were called yěsa'a'n.

Much the same attitude was displayed to a wife who bore⁸⁴² girls. Girl babies were not wanted: they always said a girl was⁵⁸⁶ an enemy, because she might some day be married to an enemy and tell how to attack her own people. If the wife of a first marriage bore a girl first, her husband discarded her; but if she bore a boy, his people praised her.

While the Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, a woman bore no children, so her husband sent her away. She married another man—it was his first marriage—and bore him a girl. His family made him put her away and take another wife. The woman said it was not right to raise a girl who had no father, implying it was no better than a bastard. It ought to be killed; so she threw the baby into^[847] the river.

314 YUMAN TRIBES OF THE GILA RIVER

845 apply only to twins as children, for aged Kutox told me he had twin younger brothers, the one surviving being now an old man.

J—, his older sister told me, is said to be from the village of twina. At birth he was so tiny they did not think he would survive. When he was four he was hardly bigger than a baby of six months. His mother took him to all the shamans, who could do nothing. Finally she applied to one married to her mother's sister. He declared he had seen this boy in his dreams. He directed, "Bring the boy, and let him stay a month if he likes me." The old shaman told them to give the boy everything he wanted, which they did. The old man gave him a horse. When the boy wanted a new horse, he would say, "Take the old horse back," which meant that the shaman should give him a colt, which he did. J— is now a strapping six-footer of thirty.

[601] A curious point was that the first born of twins was called the younger. The reason given was that one always let a child, a younger person, go through a doorway first. The twins called each other in this fashion younger and older brother.¹ It was absolutely necessary that some such decision be made, considering that age distinctions figure at every turn in the kinship system.

163 Plural births other than twins were unknown to my informants. Mrs. Redbird knew of three cases of twin births among 845 people now living, a number which might have been predicted in a population of less than three hundred. Twins were called xavō'kc, "two."

847 It is difficult to tell how frequently abortion was practiced in the old days: it is common enough today. A cloth was tied tightly around the abdomen, draughts of a boiling hot tea made of iciu' (a plant growing near the river) were taken, and the constricting process repeated until the embryo was killed. (My informant had never heard of pressing the abdomen on a rock.)

854 The cradle was prepared before the baby was born. Women [462] gathered the materials for it because they knew best what the size should be, but men always put the frame together since they could lash it more tightly. Various women might prepare its several parts, which were assembled by some older woman of the family. It was distinctly preferred not to use a cradle that had belonged to some other woman. A cradle might be kept for the successive use of one's own children, or one gotten from a near

¹ This explains why twina in the myths are called older and younger brother.

Maricopa

Halchidhoma

Kohuana

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

321

parents are very indulgent, much given to fondling the younger children, and rarely punish them. But—here is the essential point—they demand implicit obedience and see that they get it. 861

For all the lavished care normally the lot of children, there were cases to the contrary implying a certain detachment. Children were sometimes abandoned or destroyed.

While the Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, a woman, whose first husband had sent her away because she bore him no children, had a girl baby by a second husband. His family made them separate because it was a girl. She said it was not right to raise a child who had no father, implying it was a bastard, so she drowned it. 847

Of a woman now living they say, "She was raised in a coyote's mouth." When she was a newborn (?) baby, her mother did not want her and put her off in the bushes. Her children had always died when but a few days or weeks old, so she thought it was no use trying to raise this one. They say a coyote must have kept the baby in his mouth all night, and in the morning opened it so the sun would warm the child. (This was, of course, a saying, not a belief.) Next morning the husband's mother said she did not want the child to die, so she fetched it and brought it up. It was given to various relatives to nurse. The girl, now in middle life, says she is "mean" because she was abandoned to die; that now her mother is old, she expects care from her daughter, but why should she give it? As a matter of fact, it is well known that she takes good care of her mother. 736 855

About 1840 a Kohuana widow of Gila Crossing decided that she wanted to rejoin her relatives still on the Colorado. She did not think her children, a boy of six and a girl of two, could make the long journey across the desert, so she abandoned them. Telling them to go to play, she stole away. The children slept in the meeting house and ate with whom they could. They had no relatives there, but people befriended them.

There was a saying: never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be a child (childish); which also implies their consideration for the aged. 855 888

Captive children, other than those sold immediately, were reared much like one's own. When a capture was made, the child was always turned over to an old man, who had not much longer to live anyway, for a captive might cause its captor to sicken. For sixteen days following the capture, the captive had to bathe, eat and sleep apart like the actual captor until it was purified. The old man's family would usually rear the child kindly, treat it as a son or daughter, especially if their own daughter was fond of her adopted sister. Others than members of this family might abuse them, but after they were grown and married